

THE EXAMINER.

"PROVE ALL THINGS; HOLD FAST THAT WHICH IS GOOD."

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PAUL SEYMOUR,

ADDRESS

To the people of West Virginia; showing that slavery is injurious to the public welfare, and that it may be gradually abolished, without detriment to the rights and interests of slaveholders; by HENRY RUFFNER, D. D., Lexington, Va.

CONCLUDED.

Here, fellow-citizens, we conclude the general argument; not because we have exhausted our materials—far from it—but because you will think we have said enough for the present. We shall now, by way of appendix to the argument, lay down three propositions, to show the necessity of immediate action, to deliver our West Virginia from the growing evils of slavery.

1. Comparatively few slaves in a country, especially one like ours, may do it immense injury.

This has been already proved; but we wish to impress it on your minds. We shall, therefore, explain by examples, how a few slaves in a country may do its citizens more immediate injury, than a large number.

When a white family own five or one hundred slaves, they can, so long as they land produce well, afford to be indolent and expensive in their habits; for though each slave yields only a small profit, yet each member of the family has ten or fifteen of these black work-animals to toil for their support. It is not until the fields grow old, and the crops grow short, and the negroes and the overseer take nearly all that the day of ruin can be no longer postponed. If the family be not very indolent and very expensive, this inevitable day may not come before the third generation. But the ruin of small slaveholders, is often accomplished in a single life-time.

When a white family own five or ten slaves, they cannot afford to be indolent and expensive in their habits; for one black drudge cannot support one white gentleman or lady. Yet, because they are slaveholders, this family will feel some aspirations for a life of easy gentility; and because field work and kitchen work are negroes' work, the young gentlemen will dislike to go with the negroes to dirty field work, and the young ladies will dislike to join the black sluts in any sort of household labor. Such unwholesome sentiments are the natural consequence of introducing slaves among the families of a country, especially negro-slaves. They infallibly grow and spread, creating among the white families a distaste for all servile labor, and a desire to procure slaves who may take all drudgery off their hands. Thus general indolence gives way by degrees to indolent relaxation, false notions of dignity and refinement, and a taste for fashionable luxuries. Then debts slyly accumulate. The result is, that many families are compelled by their embarrassments to sell off and leave the country. Many who are unable to buy slaves, leave it also, because they feel degraded, and cannot prosper where slavery exists. Citizens of the Valley! Is it not so? Is not this the chief reason why your beautiful country does not prosper like the Northern Valleys?

2. Slavery naturally tends to increase from small beginnings, until the slaves outnumber the whites, and the country is ruined.

How this comes to pass, is partly explained in the preceding remarks.

The tendency of a slave population to gain upon the whites, may be counteracted by local causes, permanent or temporary. One permanent cause is the vicinity of a free State; a temporary cause occurred ten or twelve years ago, when the high price of negroes in the South, caused many to be sold out of our Valley. The tendency is stronger also in a planting country, than it is in a farming or grazing country; yet so strong is the tendency itself, that it overcomes this check in West Virginia; for with the temporary exception just alluded to, the slave population has been steadily gaining on the white, in all parts except the vicinity of the free States.

We have examined the census of counties for the last thirty or forty years, in Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, with the view to discover the law of population in the Northern slave States. The following are among the general results.

When a county had at first comparatively few slaves, the slave population—except near the free borders—gained upon the whites, and most rapidly in the older parts of the country.

The population, as a whole, increased so long as the slaves were fewer than the whites, but more slowly as the numbers approached to equality. In our Valley, a smaller proportion of slaves had the effect of a larger one in East Virginia, to retard the increase of population.

When the slaves became as numerous as the whites in the Eastern and older parts of the country, population came to a stand; when they outnumbered the whites, it declined. Consequently, the slave population has tended to diffuse itself equally over the country, rising more rapidly as it was farther below the white population, and going down when it had risen above them.

Such were the general results. Exceptions occurred, but all general rules of this nature have their exceptions. This is nevertheless the law of population in a slave State.

3. The price of cotton will probably decline more and more, and consequently the value of slaves; then also the law of slave increase, by which it gains on the white population, will operate in West Virginia with ruinous effect, unless prevented by law.

the increase of their slaves, because their impoverished country cannot sustain even its present stock of negroes. We join not the English and American abolition cry about "slave-breeding," in East Virginia, as if it were a chosen occupation, and therefore a reproducible one. It is no such thing, but a case of dire necessity, and many a heartache does it cost the good people there. But behold in the East the doleful consequences of letting slavery grow up to an oppressive and heart-sickening burden upon a community! Cast it off, West Virginians, whilst yet you have the power; for if you let it descend unbroken to your children, it will have grown to a mountain of misery upon their heads.

We have the following reasons to apprehend, that unless prevented by law, the slave population will in a few years increase rapidly in West Virginia.

1. The price of cotton must fall, and with it the value of slaves.

From 15 to 20 years ago, the average price of cotton was 11 cents a pound; in the last five years between 7 and 8 cents.—Had the last crop been a full one, the average would have been under 7 cents. Every successive full crop now depresses the price lower and lower, showing that the supply is on the whole out-running the demand. It must outrun the demand, while the Southern slave-market is open to Northern slaveholders.

From 1820 to 1830, the slaves in the cotton-growing States (South of Tennessee and North Carolina) increased 15 per cent., and in the next 10 years they increased 34 per cent. In 1840 the number including those in Texas was about 1,300,000. The number increases as fast as ever; for to the natural increase of the Southern stock, is added the increase of the Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina negroes, and half the increase of those in Kentucky and Tennessee. Thus the negro population of the cotton States, is going on to double itself in a period of 16 or 18 years.

Now the production of cotton must increase at the same rate as the slave population, for cotton and sugar are the only crops in which the slaves can be profitably employed; and the production of sugar cannot increase faster than that of cotton.—There will be no stoppage for want of good land. Texas has enough to produce ten times the quantity of the present annual crop.

But the consumption of cotton cannot increase at the same rate. The population of the countries that consume our cotton, does not double itself in less than 60 years; how then can they double their consumption in 18 years, or even twice that period? Therefore the price of cotton must fall, and the Southern demand for Virginia negroes must cease.

2. Good policy will require the Southern States, ere long, to close their markets against Northern negroes. The natural increase of their present stock of slaves, will increase the production of cotton as fast as the market will bear. Their short crops have always brought them more money than their full crops; showing that it is their interest to restrict the quantity within certain limits. A small excess in the quantity, causes a ruinous fall in the price. Suppose the average profit to the planter to be now two cents to the pound; then a fall of one cent takes away half the profit and half the value of their slave labor; and a fall of two cents would ruin the business. Good reason, therefore, had Mr. Bruce to apprehend that the Southern slave market might, ere long, be closed; and to urge Virginians to hasten the removal of their negroes to the South.

But whether it be closed or not, one thing is evident—that the value of slaves in the market must decline more and more. What then?

3. When the Southern slave market is closed, or when, by the reduced profits of slave labor in the South, it becomes glutted—then the stream of Virginia negroes, heretofore pouring down upon the South, will be thrown back upon the State, and like a river dammed up, must spread itself over the whole territory of the commonwealth. The head spring in East Virginia cannot contain itself; it must find vent, it will shed its black streams through every gap of the Blue Ridge and pour over the Allegheny, till it is checked by abolitionism on the borders. But even abolitionism cannot finally stop it. Abolitionism itself will tolerate slavery, when slaveholders grow sick and tired of it.

In plain terms, fellow-citizens, Eastern slaveholders will come with their multitudes of slaves to settle upon the fresh lands of West Virginia. Eastern slaves will be sent by thousands for a market in West Virginia. Every valley will echo with the cry "Negroes! Negroes for sale! Dog cheap! Dog cheap!" And because they are dog cheap, many of our people will buy them. We have shown how slavery has prepared the people for this—how a little slavery makes way for more, and how the law of slave-increase operates to fill up every part of the country to the same level with slaves.

And then, fellow-citizens, when you have suffered your country to be filled with negro slaves instead of white freemen; when its population shall be as motley as Joseph's coat of many colors—as ring-streaked and speckled as father Jacob's flock was in Padan Aram—what will the white basis of representation avail you, if you obtain it? Whether you obtain it or not, East Virginia will have triumphed; or rather slavery will have triumphed, and all Virginia will have become a land of darkness and of the shadow of death.

Then by a forbearance which has no merit, and a supineness which has no excuse, you will have given to your children for their inheritance, this lovely land blackened with a negro population—the off-scouring of Eastern Virginia—the ragged-end of slavery—the loathsome dregs of that cup of abomination, which has already sickened to death the Eastern half of our commonwealth.

Delay not then, we beseech you, to raise a barrier against this Stygian inundation—to stand at the Blue Ridge, and with sovereign energy say to this Black Sea of misery, "Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther."

To show that the extinction of slavery among us is practicable without injustice or

injury to any man, we present you the following:

Outlines of a Scheme for the Removal of Slavery.

1. Let the farther importation of slaves into West Virginia be prohibited by law. The expediency of this measure is obvious.

2. Let the exportation of slaves be freely permitted, as heretofore; but with this restriction, that children of slaves, born after a certain day, shall not be exported at all after they are five years old, nor those under that age, unless the slaves of the same negro family be exported with them.

When the emancipation of the after-born children of slaves shall be decreed, many slaves will be exported, from various motives. The restriction is intended to prevent slaveholders from defeating the benevolent intentions of the law, by selling into slavery those entitled to freedom, and old enough to appreciate the privilege designed for them. Young children are allowed to be taken away with their parents and older brothers and sisters, but not to be sold off separately to evade the law.

3. Let the existing generation of slaves remain in their present condition, but let their offspring, born after a certain day, be emancipated at an age not exceeding 25 years.

By this measure slavery will be slowly but surely abolished, without detriment or inconvenience to slaveholders. No pecuniary loss can be sustained, except at the option of the slaveholders, who, if they think that the measure will diminish the value of their slaves in West Virginia, can sell them for exportation or take them away from them in that way, than they could by keeping them and their children as slaves in West Virginia. If they choose to stay and submit to the operation of the emancipation law, they have the certainty of gaining more by the rise in the value of their lands, than they will lose in the market value of their slaves, in consequence of the emancipation law.

Undoubtedly such a law would immediately attract emigrants by thousands from the North—farmers, manufacturers and laborers, who would bring their capital, their skill, and their industry, to enrich the country—to improve its agriculture, draw out the wealth of its mines, and make its idle waterfalls and coal beds work up its abundant materials of manufacture. Before the law would emancipate a single negro, it would already have added more to the value of the lands and town property of West Virginia than all her slaves are worth. If any man among us have many slaves and little or no land, he can easily profit by the law as well as others: let him sell negroes and buy land.

Will any man argue, that the rights of slaveholders will be violated, because those rights extend to the offspring of their slaves?

Note the slaveholder's right of property extends to the offspring of his slaves, so far as this that when the offspring comes into existence, the law at present allows him to claim it as his. But when the law of the land shall in this particular be changed, his right is at an end; for it is founded solely on human law. By nature all men are free and equal; and human laws can suspend this law of nature, only so long as the public welfare requires it; that is, so long as more evil than good would result from emancipation. When the law of slavery is changed for the public good, all that the slaveholder can claim, is that in some way, he shall be compensated for the property acquired by sanction of law, and taken away by a change of the law. By our scheme nothing is absolutely taken from the slaveholder. It gives him an option, to remove without loss, a nuisance which he holds in the country, or to submit, with a very small loss of value, to another mode of abating that nuisance. We say that the people have a right to remove this pest; and that our scheme gives slaveholders double compensation for what they will suffer by the measure. We have no doubt that before ten years, nearly every slaveholder would acknowledge himself doubly compensated.

4. Let masters be required to have the heirs of emancipation taught reading, writing and arithmetic; and let churches and benevolent people attend to their religious instruction. Thus an improved class of free negroes would be raised up. No objection could be made to their literary education, after emancipation was decreed.

5. Let the emancipated be colonized.—This would be best for all parties. Supposing that by exportation, our slave population should in twenty-two years be reduced to 40,000. Then about 1000 would go out free the first year, and a gradually smaller number each successive year. The 1000 could furnish their own outfit, by laboring a year or two in hirelings; and their transportation to Liberia would cost the people of West Virginia 25,000 dollars, which, as population would by that time have probably reached a million, would be an average contribution of two and a half cents a head. So easy would it be to remove the bugaboo of a free negro population, so often held up to deter us from emancipation. Easy would it be, though our calculations were not fully realized.

Finally, in order to hasten the extinction of slavery, where the people desired it, in counties containing few slaves—the law might authorize the people of any county, by some very large majority, or by consent of a majority of the slaveholders to decree the removal or emancipation of all the slaves of the county, within a certain term of years, seven, ten or fifteen, according to the number of slaves.

This as an auxiliary measure, would be safe and salutary; because the only question then in a country, would be the question of time, which would not be very exciting. But it would be inexpedient as the chief or only measure; for then the people of the same county, or of neighboring counties, might be kept embroiled on the subject for years, and the influence of East Virginia, operating on counties here and there, might defeat the whole measure, by a repeal of the law. Let us move as a body first, and determine the main point. Then the counties might decide the minor point for themselves. Let West Virginia determine to be free, on a general principle. Then let the counties

if they will, modify this principle, for more speedy relief.

Now, fellow-citizens, it is for you to determine whether the slavery question shall be considered, discussed and decided, at this critical, this turning point of your country's history; or whether it shall lie dormant until the doom of West Virginia is sealed.—May heaven direct your minds to the course dictated by patriotism, by humanity and by your own true interest.

Dr. Lang on the Cultivation of Cotton in Australia.

The Rev. Dr. Lang, last evening, delivered, at the Mechanics' Institution an interesting and able lecture on the cultivation of cotton in north-eastern Australia. The audience was rather limited, there not being above 120 persons present. Amongst the auditors, were Thomas Bazley, Esq., chairman of the Mechanics' Chamber of Commerce; James Aspinall Turner, Esq., chairman of the Manchester Commercial Association; Thomas Boothman, Esq., secretary of the Chamber of Commerce; W. Morris, Esq., the Rev. Mr. Monroe, the Rev. Mr. Currie, &c.

Mr. Bazley occupied the chair. He said that he need not enter into any elaborate statement, to prove that an abundant and constant supply of cotton was of paramount importance to the vast multitude of artisans in this district. At present, we received our supply from very few sources, and the principal portion of it was the produce of slave labor. He did not stand there to advocate any interference with the institutions of another country, but he had opinions and feelings in reference to the freedom of his fellow creatures, of whatever color. He advocated the necessity of personal freedom, as much as of commercial freedom; and, with respect to cotton, it would be well if we could increase the sources of our supply, and at the same time do it so as to promote the freedom of humanity. During the last year, we had been suffering from a deficiency of food and of cotton. A new field, however, seemed to be opening to us in the new world. South Australia he believed to be capable of producing, in quantity and quality, a very important supply of raw cotton. Dr. Lang would be able to show that that country had produced beautiful cotton, and it was most desirable that we should receive a supply from thence. In the infancy of many gentlemen who are still among us, and who might be called the patriarchs of our trade, the United States of America began the production of cotton; and if such wonderful results could be produced within the lifetime of individuals, we might fairly anticipate that, in the new field now opened up to us, and with the intelligence that the world now possessed, a large supply of the staple article might be grown for our use. America was not so important a customer to us for our manufactured goods as she ought to be, considering that we took so large a portion of her agricultural products. He was informed, on very good authority, that the exports of cotton manufactures from this country to the United States did not amount to more than 10d. per head on the whole population of the republic. Our exports of cotton goods to the British North American territories, amounted to about 7d. per head; to Australia they amounted to 10s. 6d. per head per annum. Now, whilst America was taking from us a mere trifle of our manufactured goods, it was estimated that the value of the raw cotton alone which we imported from the United States was not less than £1 per head per annum for the whole population of this country. While she sells us 20s. worth, she generously takes back 10d. worth. We could not interfere with the regulations of such a country; but, seeing that intelligence was penetrating the continent of Europe, it must penetrate to America, and freedom of trade must prevail there, as in other countries. (Cheers.)

Dr. Lang, who was received with applause, began by referring to the energetic and successful efforts which had been made by the city of Manchester to rid the country of the food monopoly which had so long and so grievously oppressed it, and said that it behooved the people of this district to make another effort to free themselves from another monopoly equally intolerable and oppressive, namely the virtual monopoly which the United States possessed of supplying Great Britain with cotton. Next to an abundant supply of food, there was nothing which this country stood more in need of than an abundant supply of cotton; and the trade of this country was at the present moment languishing and groaning under the effects of a monopoly in cotton, just as it did recently under a monopoly in corn. In the one case, the monopolists were the landholders of our own country; in the other they were the slaveholders of America. Oh, then, for another Cobden, that this monopoly, which pressed like an incubus on Great Britain, and which in some aspects was more intolerable than the defunct monopoly, might n like manner be brought to an end. He was confident that we might free ourselves from vassalage, and that the means of success were to be found in Australia. This might seem incredible at first sight; but the annals of the country afforded a case exactly in point. Nearly half a century ago, the woolen trade of England was precisely in the same condition as the cotton trade now is, owing to a deficient supply of the raw material. At that time, Mr. J. M. Arthur arrived here with a small specimen of Australian wool, of good quality, just as he (Dr. Lang) had come with a specimen of cotton wool. Mr. M. Arthur, when he spoke of Australia as the land which was to furnish England with a large supply of sheep's wool, was looked upon with coldness, doubt, and incredulity; but what had been the result? The quantity of foreign wool imported into Great Britain from all parts of the world during the past year, was in round numbers, 66,000,000 lbs. of which not less than one third, or 22,000,000 lbs. was from Australia; and as the colony doubled her exports of wool to this country every four years, or thereabouts, it would only require about six years more to enable Australia to supply the whole quantity now imported here.—(Cheers.) When it was considered that the colonies of Australia consumed the extent of £7, 10s. per head of the manufactured goods of Great Britain, it was a matter of intense consequence to us that such a good customer should increase and multiply; especially.—(Cheers.) See how little we exported to other countries to which

free trade has given us free intercourse. Of all our manufactured goods, the population of Russia consumes 712d. per head; that of the German Empire, 834d.; of the French Empire, about 1s. 5d.; of the United States, 6s. 6d.; of Canada, £1. 15s.; and of Australia, £7. 10s. per head per annum. (Cheers.) As customers, therefore, for our produce and manufactures, every man, woman, and child in Australia was worth four Canadians, 27 Americans, 100 Frenchmen, and 200 Russians and Germans. (Laughter and cheers.) Another result of the growth of sheep wool in Australia had been the reduction of the price of the article to one-fourth of what it was fifty years ago. He anticipated precisely the same results from the cultivation of cotton wool in that colony. There would not only be an increase of the quantity imported, but a reduction of the price of the best qualities; for it would be the superior qualities that would chiefly be produced in Australia.

Dr. Lang then proceeded, as he had previously done before the Chamber of Commerce, to describe the territory of Cooksland, in North-Eastern Australia, or that portion of the colony which he looks upon as the future cotton field of Great Britain. He described its position, between the 26th and 30th parallels of south latitude, its physical appearance, its wonderful salubrity of climate, its adaptability to European constitutions, and its admirable fitness for the growth of a superior kind of cotton, worth, according to the present scale of prices, about 11d. or 1s. per lb. He contended that the habitat of the cotton plant was in the dry and warm regions of the temperate zone, such as Egypt and Cooksland; that there it flourished best, and not in the humid and hot atmosphere of India; and that the plant was not, as had been asserted by a journal in this city, a native of the terra caliente of Mexico. Having shown that Cooksland was at every fifty miles intersected by a river, navigable for steamboats of one hundred tons, for a distance inwards of from thirty to eighty miles; the average breadth of the territory, up to the range of mountains which skirted it, and which ran parallel with the sea, being about sixty miles—he showed that although about three times the amount of rain fell in 1845 at Sydney, as compared with London, the normal or regular state of the atmosphere was so dry that the hygrometer stood at zero, indicating that there was no humidity in the atmosphere at all. All the products of tropical climates might be grown there, including cotton. On the banks of the rivers favorable to steam navigation, there was a boundless quantity of land ready for the plough; and an agricultural population settled thereon would have advantages of soil and climate, and means of communication, such as were enjoyed in no other country on the surface of the globe, and such as, he was confident, would enable them to compete successfully, in the growth of cotton, either with the slave labor of the United States or the Brazils, or with the free labor of British India. There was no mystery, as he knew from personal observation, in the growth of cotton. If a negro stolen from Africa could learn the whole art in a fortnight, surely an intelligent English farmer could not be long in acquiring it. It was an atrocious libel on Providence to say that free labor could not compete with slave labor. As to the objection grounded on the remote distance of the colony, that was a mere bugbear. The distance was found to be of no account in competing with the wool growers of Spain and Germany, and why should it be in competing with the cotton-growers of Alabama and New Orleans? The facilities which the colonists would have in shipping their produce on the rivers along the coast would far more than compensate for the additional cost of freight. What was now wanted was a practical demonstration of the truth of what he had said as to the capabilities of Cooksland, and when that demonstration were given, there was ample means (in the purchase-money of the colonial lands, set apart by government for the purpose) for conveying thither any conceivable number of fitting laborers, and ample lands for the location of the whole of the redundant population of Great Britain for the next hundred years. He was now attempting to raise funds for the desired experiment. He proposed that a corps of one hundred agricultural families should be sent out before the close of the present year, under the superintendence of an experienced cotton planter from the United States. The cost of such an experiment would be, at least, £5,000; and in the present commercial crisis, he was limiting his efforts to raise this sum by way of loan, to bear interest, and he was happy to say that their worthy chairman had commenced the subscription with £100. The government had offered every facility that could be reasonably desired in the matter. (Cheers.) In conclusion, Dr. Lang showed that this was the only practicable means of extinguishing slavery in America, and the slave trade in Africa. On the motion of the lecturer, seconded by the Rev. Mr. Monroe, a vote of thanks was passed to the chairman, and the proceedings closed.—Manchester paper of October, 1847.

We extract, from the recent and eloquent pamphlet of the wise and virtuous Albert Gallatin, that portion which is devoted to the consideration of the true objects and mission of our republic. We wish we had room for the whole.

The Mission of our Republic

"The people of the United States have been placed by Providence in a position never before enjoyed by any other nation. They are possessed of a most extensive territory, with a very fertile soil, a variety of climates and productions, and a capacity of sustaining a population greater, in proportion to its extent, than any other territory of the same size on the face of the globe."

By a concurrence of various circumstances, they found themselves, at the epoch of their independence in the left enjoyment of religious, civil, and political liberty, entirely free from any hereditary monopoly of wealth or power. The people at large were in full and quiet possession of all those natural rights, for which the people of other countries have for a long time contended, and still do contend. They were, and you still are, the supreme sovereigns, acknowledged as such by all. For the proper exercise of these uncontested powers and privileges, you are responsible to posterity, to the world at large and to the Almighty Being who has poured on you such unparalleled blessings.

Your mission is, to improve the state of the world; to be the "Model Republic," to show that men are capable of governing themselves, and that this simple and natural form of government is that which confers most happiness on all, is productive of the greatest development of the intellectual faculties, above all, it is the most equitable and the most just.

It is not to the Anglo-Saxon descent, but to a variety of causes, among which the subsequent mixture of Frenchified Normans, Angevins and Gascons must not be forgotten, that the English are indebted for their superior institutions. In the progressive improvement of mankind, much more has been due to religious and political institutions, than to races. Whenever the European nations, which, from their language, are presumed to belong to the Latin or Celtic races, have conquered institutions similar to those of England, there will be no trace left of the pretended superiority of one of these races above the other. At this time, the claim is not a pretext for covering and justifying the most unprincipled and unbounded ambition.

But admitting, with respect to Mexico, the superiority of race, this confers no superiority of rights. Among ourselves, the most ignorant and the most inferior, either in physical or mental faculties, is recognized as having equal rights, and as an equal vote with any one, however superior to him in all those respects.

It is founded, on the immutable principle, that no man is born with the right of governing another man. He may, indeed, acquire a moral influence over others, and no other is legitimate. The same principle will apply to nations. However superior the Anglo-American race may be to that of Mexico, this gives the American no right to infringe upon the rights of the inferior race. The people of the United States may, rightfully, and will, if they use the proper means, exercise a most beneficial moral influence over the Mexicans, and other less enlightened nations of America. Beyond this they have no right to go.

that which is attended with the highest standard of private and political virtues and morality.

Your forefathers, the founders of the Republic, imbued with a deep feeling of their rights and duties, did not deviate from these principles. The sound sense, the wisdom, the probity, the respect for public faith, with which the internal concerns of our country were managed, made our institutions an object of general admiration. Here, for the first time, was the experiment attempted with any prospect of success, and on a large scale, of a Representative Democratic Republic. If it failed, the last hope of the friends of mankind was lost irrevocably; and the eyes of the world were turned towards you. Whenever real, or pretended, apprehensions of the imminent danger of trusting the people at large with powers, were expressed, the answer ever was, "Look at America!"

In their external relations the United States, before this unfortunate war, had, whilst sustaining their just rights, ever acted in strict conformity with the dictates of justice, and displayed the utmost moderation. They never had voluntarily injured any other nation. Every acquisition of territory from foreign powers was honestly made; the recently acquired territory, imposed, but freely assented to by the other party. The preservation of peace was always a primary object. The recourse to arms was always in self-defence. On the extreme frontier, there may have been a difference of opinion; that, in the only two instances of conflict with civilized nations which occurred during a period of sixty years, (1783 to 1846), the just rights of the United States had been invaded by a long continued series of aggressions, is undeniable. In the first instance, war was not declared; and there were only partial hostilities between France and England. The Congress of the United States, the only legitimate organ for that purpose, did, in 1812, declare war against Great Britain. Independent of depredations on our commerce, she had, for twenty years, carried on an actual war against the United States. I say, actual war, since there is now but one opinion on that subject; a renewal of the imprisonment of men sailing under the protection of our flag would be tantamount to a declaration of war. The partial opinion, that the war of 1812, did not rest on a denial of the aggressions of England and of the justice of our cause, but on the fact that, with the exception of imprisonment, similar infractions of our just rights had been committed by France, and on the most erroneous belief, that the administration was partial to that country, and inimical to their apparent efforts to restore peace.

At present, all these principles would seem to have been abandoned. The most just, purely defensive war, and another is justifiable, is necessarily attended with a train of great and avoidable evils. What shall we say of one thing, which is the cause of the most general tendency, to make man hate man, to awaken his worst passions, to accustom him to the taste of blood. It has already generalized so inconceivable portions of our country, that the general peace, which has been preserved between the great European powers during the last thirty years, may not be ascribed to the purest motives. Be these what they may, this long and unusual rupture has had a most pernicious effect on the cause of humanity. Nothing can be more injurious to it, more lamentable, more scandalous, than the war between two adjacent republics of North America.

Our mission was, to be a model for all governments and for all other less favored nations, to adhere to the most elevated principles of political morality, to apply all your faculties to the gradual improvement of your own institutions, and to extend, by your example, to exert a moral influence most beneficial to mankind at large. Instead of this, an appeal has been made to your worst passions; to cupidity, to the thirst of unjust aggrandizement, to the love of power, to the love of military fame and of false glory; and it has even been tried to pervert the noblest feelings of your nature. The attempt is made to make you abandon the lofty and virtuous path, which your fathers carved out for you, and to substitute for it the political morality and heathen patriotism of the heroes and statesmen of antiquity.

I have said, that it was attempted to pervert even your virtues. Devotedness to country, or patriotism, is a most essential virtue, since the national existence of any society depends upon it. Unfortunately, our most virtuous dispositions are perverted, not only by the influence of the State, but by their own excess. Even the most holy of our attributes, the religious feeling, may be perverted from that cause, as was but too lamentably exhibited in the persecutions, even unto death, of those who were deemed heretics. It is not, therefore, astonishing, that patriotism, carried to excess, should also be perverted. In the entire devotedness to their country, the people everywhere and at all times, have been too apt to forget the rights of man, and to be too ready to sacrifice to the love of power, to the love of military fame and of false glory, and it has even been tried to pervert the noblest feelings of your nature. The attempt is made to make you abandon the lofty and virtuous path, which your fathers carved out for you, and to substitute for it the political morality and heathen patriotism of the heroes and statesmen of antiquity.

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